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South Africa's survival essential to U.S. as source of key materials

Leaders of the U.S. network against South Africa concentrate on creating a public sense of moral repugnance surrounding apartheid and the injustices of the South African system. So far, so good. At least on the surface.

Censorship by omission, however, is wheeled into play when it comes to the U.S. national interest in maintaining a steady supply of strategic minerals. In the Free World only South Africa produces many of the strategic minerals essential in defense and modern industry. To boycott South Africa would render the Soviet Union our sole source for these minerals.

During the Rhodesian boycott, the Soviet Union quickly snapped up Rhodesian chrome — no compunction at all about trading through third parties with a white supremacist regime — and sold it back to the United States at a premium.

The politicians and "solidarity" activists of Europe and America do not have a monopoly on this sort of hypocrisy. When speaking privately with leaders of the black-ruled countries of southern and central Africa, I found a keen recognition that the economic survival of their countries depends on South Africa.

Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, even Nigeria (albeit covertly), and other African states rely on South Africa for much of their technology and skilled technicians; for food and other imports; as an export market and for assistance

in getting their goods to world markets; and for the foreign exchange earned in South Africa by their black citizens who find jobs there.

Revolution in South Africa would mean disaster for black Africans. Nevertheless, whenever the United Nations is assembled, its diplomats stand up and pronounce dire imprecations on the heads of South African whites while singing the praises of the African National Congress terrorists and blacks killing other blacks for "collaboration" with the government.

Among the U.S. groups that have pioneered the "moral" argument for sanctions against, and revolutionary change in, South Africa are the American Committee on Africa

EDITOR'S PERSPECTIVE

by Arnaud
de Borchgrave

(ACOA) and its "independent" spin-off, the Washington Office on Africa (WOA); the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC); TransAfrica; and the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). Each has provided "moral support" and sometimes more to the

African National Congress (ANC), whose Soviet-allied revolutionaries began committing acts of terrorism against civilians more than two decades ago.

American Committee on Africa

George Houser, founder and executive director of the American Committee on Africa, celebrated the 25th anniversary of the organization by writing a booklet history of the committee called "Meeting Africa's Challenge: The Story of the American Committee on Africa."

According to Mr. Houser, now retired from ACOA, the impetus for the committee arose in 1951 during London meetings between U.S. black activist Bill Sutherland and the editor of ANC's newspaper, "African World," who told Mr. Sutherland about ANC's plans to launch the "Defiance Campaign" of the early 1950s. When Mr. Sutherland returned to the United States, he told Mr. Houser, who then was executive secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and race relations secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), about ANC's plans. Still, according to Mr. Houser, "We wrote to Walter Sisulu, the secretary general of the African National Congress ... [who] responded eagerly, and in New York we decided to set up an ad hoc organization, which we called Americans for South African Resistance (AFSAR), in support of this campaign."

Mr. Houser reported that when the "Defiance Campaign" started in June 1952, its link to the ANC was Professor Z.K. Matthews, head of ANC's Cape branch, who had just arrived to teach at Union Theological Seminary. He remained in "constant touch" with ANC leaders in South Africa, and he was the source for bulletins issued by AFSAR. Mr. Houser also said that "AFSAR ... raised several thousand dollars which, through Z.K. Matthews, was sent to ANC." When the ANC effort collapsed in 1953, AFSAR was reorganized into ACOA. The "Defiance" support set the pattern for ACOA activities.

Mr. Houser's organization shifted its focus to supporting Algeria's National Liberation Front (FLN) whose eight-year civil war was marked by atrocities and violence and repression that left one million dead.

Mr. Houser explained that "ACOA worked closely with ... the FLN representatives in New York and at the U.N. Numerous public meetings were sponsored to call attention to the Algerian struggle and to condemn the support the U.S. was giving France." He also recalled that ACOA was the first to display the flag of the FLN's provisional revolutionary government at public meetings in New York.

Mr. Houser claimed that "there is not a major liberation movement in southern Africa which has not received some support from ACOA." "Much of this," he volunteered, "has been done through the Africa

Defense and Aid Fund ... sometimes the assistance given is to cover the emergency needs of visitors to New York and U.N. or to liberation movement leaders traveling in the U.S. It may help with travel expenses, accommodations, telephone bills, etc. ... In the case of some of the liberation movements ... ACOA has taken major responsibility for raising the funds to make it possible for the organization to have an office and a full-time representative here."

During the 1970s, Mr. Houser described ACOA logistical support to "liberation movements" as including the supply of vehicles such as jeeps, Land Rovers and Volkswagen buses. Anti-communist and non-

communist forces were slighted. For example, in Angola, there were three armed movements: The then-Peking-allied FNLA led by Holden Roberto, the nationalist UNITA headed by Jonas Savimbi and the Soviet-controlled MPLA. According to Mr. Houser, "a lengthy discussion was held in 1970, and the decision was to recognize the primacy of the MPLA at that time." The Marxist-Leninist MPLA, with Soviet assistance and Cuban troops, fought its way to power in 1975.

ACOA's Washington lobbying activities were outlined by Mr. Houser. "ACOA," he wrote, "has consistently opposed U.S. policies" in South Africa. The organization's representatives have appeared on numerous occasions before "the appropriate Senate and House committees. ACOA has kept a full-time office in Washington since 1968. Funds for the Washington operation, according to Mr. Houser's organizational history, have been provided primarily by four religious denominations: "Methodist, Presbyterian, United Church of Christ and Episcopalian." When these churches wanted to take a more active role against South Africa, he explained, "ACOA's Washington office was transformed into the independent, jointly sponsored Washington Office on Africa."

Among the best known ACOA representatives have been Mr. Houser himself before his retirement; Jennifer Davis, a South African "exile" who replaced him as executive director after years as ACOA's research director; and New York attorney Peter Weiss, who was ACOA president for 10 years and provided a significant amount of funding to ACOA's tax-exempt spin-off, The Africa Fund, through the Samuel Rubin Foundation. Mr. Weiss has performed similar functions on the board of the Institute for Policy

Studies (IPS), which has cooperated with the ACOA on campaigns for legislation against U.S. bank loans to South Africa and other issues.

American Friends Service Committee

The Philadelphia-based American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) increased the level of its southern Africa program in 1974 when it hired as program director Bill Sutherland, co-founder of ACOA. Mr. Sutherland moved to Africa in 1953 and later worked for the first government of Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah. He played a role in organizing the 1958 All African Peoples Conference in Accra. From

1963 to 1975, Mr. Sutherland was an employee of the Tanzanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When he went to work for the AFSC, he moved to Lusaka, Zambia.

The general trend of the AFSC southern Africa program was visible in the August 1977 16-member AFSC delegation Mr. Sutherland led on a tour of the "front-line" states. The proclaimed purpose was to "build relationships with the opponents of the status quo in southern Africa, particularly the liberation movements."

TransAfrica

The principal coordinator of the Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) protest coalition is Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica. The group was formed eight years ago "to inform and organize popular opinion in the United States to advocate policies and practices that will help to achieve a more progressive U.S. foreign policy toward the nations of Africa and the Caribbean and peoples of African descent generally throughout the world."

As this policy was translated into action, TransAfrica has promoted the interests of the ANC, the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and Moscow-allied client regimes in Africa and the Caribbean. The link with the ANC has been open.

After graduating from Harvard Law School, Mr. Robinson worked in Tanzania as a Ford Foundation fellow before returning to Boston to practice public interest law. In 1975 he joined the staff of Rep. William Clay, D-Mo. Later he worked for Rep. Charles Diggs, D-Mich. ACOA's former executive director, George Houser, wrote that his organization had "maintained a working relationship" with Mr. Diggs, who was chairman of the House subcommittee on Africa. Mr. Robinson was executive director of the Congressional Black Caucus before taking on the TransAfrica project. His brother is Chicago-based television newsman Max Robinson.

The roll call of past and present members of the TransAfrica board of directors includes Harry Belafonte; the Rev. Isaac Bivens, United Methodist Church Board of Global Missions; Courtland Cox; Dr. Carlton Goodlett, for many years a member of the Presidium of the Soviet-controlled World Peace Coun-

cil and publisher of two San Francisco-area black community newspapers; William Lucy of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); R. Prexy Nesbitt, former IPS fellow who headed the World Council of Churches Program to Combat Racism; the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker; and Ronald Walters.

The list shows a preponderance of personalities on the left wing of the American political spectrum with respect to South Africa and other social issues.

Institute for Policy Studies

The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), which has offices just off Dupont Circle in Washington has amassed a 20-year public record remarkable for its consistency in supporting disarmament (by the West), non-intervention against Soviet surrogates, but intervention against authoritarian governments aligned with the West, abolition of nuclear power (by the West), and the drastic curtailment of intelligence and internal security agencies (the American ones).

IPS and its subsidiary, the Transnational Institute (TNI), which has offices in Amsterdam as well as in IPS's Washington headquarters, play central roles in coordinating pressure campaigns on parliaments in Europe and on the U.S. Congress for such policies. In part, IPS exercises influence through a network of "progressive" congressional staff aides. IPS has acted as a conduit for Soviet and Cuban disinformation themes.

In 1982, the institute concluded a formal "exchange" agreement with the Arbatov Institute in Moscow and another Soviet agency, both used by Soviet intelligence for "active measures." The IPS/Soviet 1983 "Bilateral Exchange" conference in Minneapolis attracted Soviet GRU (military intelligence) Gen. Mikhail Milsteyn and others from those agencies experienced in "active measures" and political influence operations.

IPS Chairman Peter Weiss was president of ACOA for 10 years. Other IPS figures have been affiliated with the committee. Members of IPS's Southern Africa Project and Militarism and Disarmament Project have played key roles in coordinating divestment and anti-bank loan campaigns in Western Europe and the United States. Indeed, the Committee to Oppose Bank Loans to South Africa operated from IPS's headquarters and ACOA's New York office.

Continued

Even more significant was the central role of a member of the ANC and the South African Communist Party Central Committee, Ruth First Slovo, in organizing IPS/TNI solidarity efforts. Ruth First was killed in 1982 by a parcel bomb which exploded at ANC headquarters in Maputo. Her husband Joe Slovo heads the ANC's "military" arm, the terrorist 'Umkonto we Sizwe' cadre. The Lithuanian-born Mr. Slovo, a member of the SACP Politburo and the ANC Revolutionary Council, was a lawyer in South Africa until ANC and the SACP commenced terrorist operations in the early 1960s. South African authorities have identified him as holding the rank of colonel in the Soviet KGB.

Yes, apartheid is repugnant. But there is a lot more to the anti-South African campaign than meets the eye in the current deluge of press releases.
